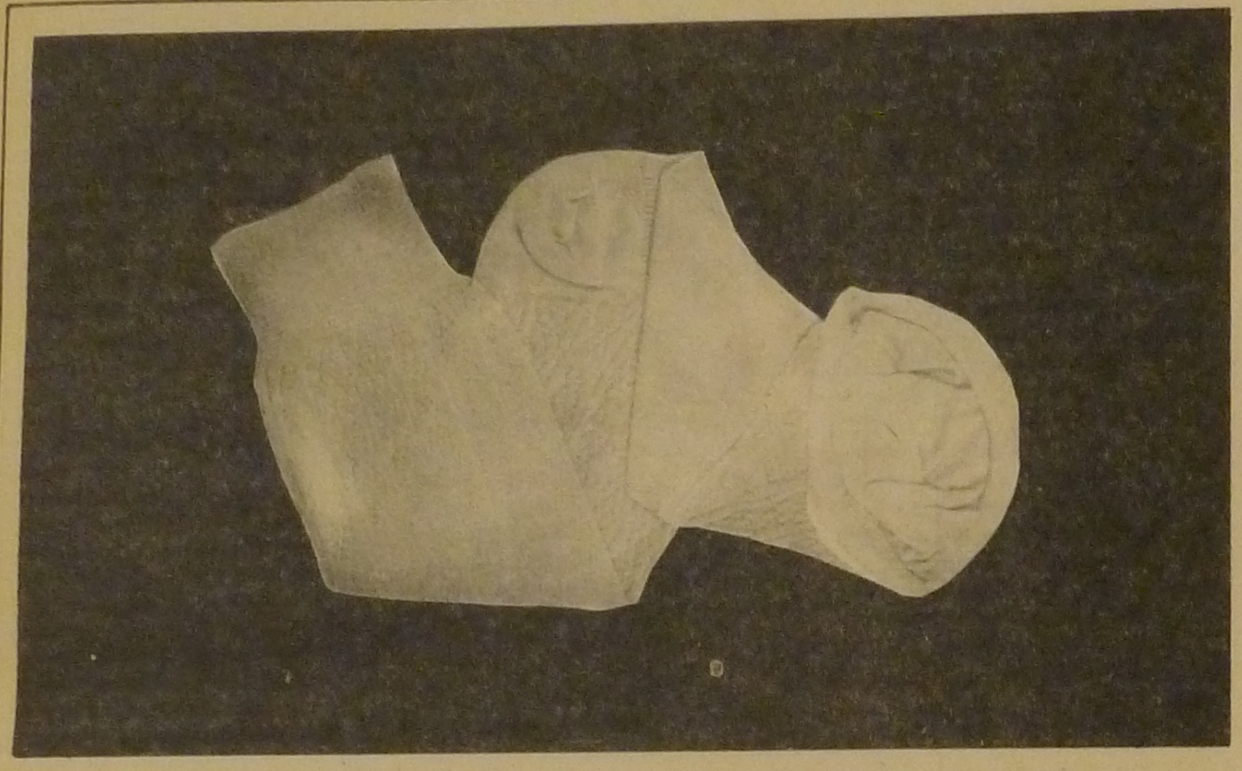
MOKO

No. 5

A SERIOUS REVIEW

Price 10 cts. up

MOKOJUMBIE!



A SOCKS 'BLANK' SYMBOLS

It could hardly be said that the result of the Guyanese elections is a stunning surprise, but one is nevertheless left aghast. It is a long time since the electoral process in any country has been flaunted and abused with such panache. From the word 'Go' it was evident that the West Indies, and indeed the people of the world, were in for a rousing display in political sleight-of-hand. Now it's over, but not quite.

The smell of overseas postal voting will linger for a long time, as will the memory of all those fictitious voters scattered about Britain and America. Now we should expect a rash of sales of reprints of out-print British eighteenth century electioneering literature.

A generation growing up in the shadow of Mr. Burnham's Guyana will need to know as much as possible about those legendary English constituencies of Onevote and Novote that flourished in the period before the several Reform Bills of the nineteenth century got rid of them. But we expect the English monopoly to be of short duration. In due course Guyana will produce a plentiful literature of its own programmed no doubt with the same exactitude that the the recent elections were thrills, close shaves and all.

What, one is moved to wonder, are the legitimate limits on electoral manoeuvre in a supposed democracy? If there are no limits, as the evidence increasingly suggests, what options are open to those who find themselves frustrated by the wilful manipulation of the privileges of government? What is more important, the form or the substance? Is it possible to do anything under the umbrella of laws declared and made by governments openly operating in their own selfish interests? What then are the rights of those who are outraged and abused by those laws?

It even seems that there are few who are prepared to live by the canons they say they respect. All during the recent campaign West Indian governments as well as West Indian newspapers went further along the road to destroy what little democracy we have in these parts than the P.P.P. from which they claimed to be anxious to protect us ever did.

The Jamaican view was that the Americans should intervene if, miracle of miracles, a Jagan government came to power. One of the local newspapers in a very vulgar editorial expressed somewhat the same view. In fact, if ever the ends come to justify the means in these societies the past few weeks will be properly accounted as having carried us far along the road to that conclusion. It might well turn out to be that the present regimes in the West Indies will in the long run have sanctioned the means which others will later perfect.

All around the same basic, dishonest expediency prevails. The mind boggles at the brazenness of the Guyana coup, and boggles too at its probable consequences. In our last issue we expressed the view that in essentials Mr. Burnham clearly understands Mr. Shearer's methods. The major political speculation now is how many other West Indian leaders understand Mr. Burnham's. We will in due course see. MOKOJUMBIE!

Jamaica Witch-hunt.

As we go to Press the Jamaican Government is taking active steps to hustle through Parliament a Bill which seeks to give that Government the power to exclude Commonwealth Citizens contrary to existing practice. The purpose, it is widely believed, is to enable the Government to get rid of two lecturers now on the staff of the Mona Branch of the University of the West Indies. In other words the witch-hunt is now on in deadly earnest. While it pursues its ghastly way we might ponder on some of the real conditions explaining the recent unrest in Jamaica centering on the name (if not the person) of Walter Rodney.

The following is a list of business enterprises in Jamaica owned and controlled by four white families, the Ashenheims, the Henriques, the Matalons and the Issas. In most cases they are outright owners; in others they are managing directors, chairmen of the Boards of Directors, or Directors of these companies. The information is taken from "Who's Who", Jamaica, and from the Kingston Stock Market a report published in Jamaica in 1966 by the Jamaica Central Bank.

ASHENHEIM

Standard Life Assurance Co.
Jamaica Housing Development Co.,Ltd.
Milholland, Ashenheim and Stone
Globe Insurance Co., of the W.I.
Suburban Developments Ltd.
Blinds and Furnishings Ltd.
Commonwealth Ltd.
Worcester Porcelain Ltd.
Caribbean Cement Co. Ltd.
Development
Caribeach Ltd. (Nassau)
Caribbean Steel Co., Ltd.
Jamaica Permanent Building Society
Lascelles De Mercado & Co., Ltd.
Group of Companies
Consolidated International Corp.
J. Wray & Nephew Ltd.
John Crook Ltd.,
Group of Companies
Captain Morgan Rum Distillers
Edwin Charley Jamaica Ltd.
Copper Company of Jamaica
Carreras Jamaica Ltd.
Mentons Ltd.
Price Waterhouse & Co.
Gleaner Co. Ltd.
Insurance Co. of Jamaica
Employers Federation
Bank of Jamaica
Industrial Commercial Dev. Ltd.
Cecil B. Facey Ltd.
P.A. Benjamin Manufacturing Co.
Jamaica Public Service Co. Ltd.
Abdel Lighting Products
Medsalco Ltd.
Hardware & Lumber
West Indies Glass
Jamaica Broilers Ltd.
Jamaica Telephone Co. Ltd.
Adolph Levy & Bros. Ltd.
Kingston Icemaking Co. Ltd.
Seprod Ltd.
W.I. Chemical Works Ltd.
New Yarmouth Ltd.
Jamaica Chemical Industries

MATALON

Federated Pharmaceuticals Ltd.
Commodity Service Co. Ltd.
Jamaica Cocoa Products
Comserv Pharmacies
Tropicair Jalousies Ltd.
West Indies Buildings Ltd.
West Indies Paints Ltd.
Codfish Ltd.
West Indies Home Contractors
Seprod Ltd.
St. Thomas Mutual Building Society
St. Thomas Trading Co. Ltd.
Jamaica Feeds
Jamaica Telephone Co. Ltd.
Amalgamated Packaging Ind. Ltd.
Riverside Gardens
Sceptre Trust
P.A. Benjamin Manufacturing Ltd.
Royal Bank Trust
Kingston Industrial Works Ltd.
United Motors
Processing & Storage
Rural Ice and Cold Storage
New Enterprise Ltd.
Foreshore Dev. Co. Ltd.

ISSA

E.A. Issa and Bros. Ltd.
Issa's Retail Co.
Issa Hardware Co. Ltd.
Motor Sales & Service
Regent Shirt Manufacturing Co.
Jamaica Electrical Supplies
Morissa Footwear Ltd.
Tower Isle Hotel
Montego Inn
Development Financial Corp. of Ja.
Canning & Co. Ltd. (Trinidad)
Hi-Lo Food Stores Jamaica Ltd.
Aluminium & Steel Products Ltd.
Caribbean Metal Products Ltd.
Rigby & Nelson Ltd. (England)
Knutsford Park Ltd.
Prospect Beach Ltd.
Jamaica Bottling Co. Ltd.
Serv Well Jamaica
Credit Corp. of Jamaica Ltd.
Issa Savings & Trust Co. Ltd.
Nathan & Co. Ltd.
St. Ann Hotel Co. Ltd.
Caribeach Ltd. (Nassau)
Leonard De Cordova Ltd.
Caribbean Hotels Ltd.
W.I. & Caribbean Developments Ltd
Prestige Motors Ltd.
Air Jamaica Ltd.
Air Conditioning & Refrigeration Ltd.
New Kingston Ltd.
New Kingston Hotel Co. Ltd.

HENRIQUES

Kingston Industrial Garage
New Yarmouth Sugar Estate
New Yarmouth Ltd.
Henriques Bros. Ltd.
Belmont Dry Dock Ltd.
Patent Cement Block Co. Ltd.
Kingston Industrial Agencies
J. Wray & Nephew Ltd.

Season's Greetings to all

The '69 Budget in Review

F.A. FRANCIS

In many ways the 1969 Budget Speech delivered by the Prime Minister on Friday 6th December 1968, was a remarkable occasion for the nation both because of what it said and because of what it failed to say. The policies which it spelled out, though in several respects a sequel to those introduced in January 1968,represent a notable deviation from the conciliatory attitude towards business adopted by the Prime Minister in his previous Budget Speech.

On that occasion, the Prime Minister had, a few months earlier taken over the reins of financial management of the country's affairs ostensibly during a period of fiscal and monetary crisis in which the confidence of investors in the strength of the economy had been severely shaken because of the radical nature of fiscal policies being pursued at the time. The business community had seriously questioned the soundness of judgement of the fiscal arm of the Government and the Prime Minister, anxious to produce a 'rapprochement' had acted with rapidity and firmness and had appointed a Fiscal Review Committee with able representation from all major sectors of the economy and with sweeping powers to examine and make recommendations on all aspects of Fiscal Policy.

Fiscal Review Committee

The final report of the Fiscal Review Committee published in November 1967 endorsed in principle the most radical fiscal innovations made up to that time - the corporation tax, the withholding tax on income payments to recipients abroad, the measures to reduce avoidance and evasion of personal income tax, the need to renegotiate existing double-taxation treaties on terms fairer to this country, and the reduction of the personal income tax which had also been proposed in the earlier fiscal reform measures. Certain of the changes in the rates of withholding tax and other aspects of policy proposed, however, did violence to the principles on which the earlier measures were based.

The 1968 Budget espoused without question many of the recommendations of the Report of the Fiscal Review Committee. It undertook also to give early consideration to others with a view to implementing them at a later date. By so doing it gave tacit acceptance to the basic philosophies and techniques of the earlier fiscal policy. At the same time though it also establsihed a dangerous precedent for future changes of fiscal policy by Government. On the basis of the procedure then adopted it seemed that thereafter Government had to take the private sector into confidence and seek consent and approval before introducing any important changes of direction and emphasis in fiscal policy.

Limitations

This method of procedure could be highly desirable if one could be assured that all parties to the Tripartite exercise were equally competent to comprehend the technical issues involved, and adequately to protect the interests they represent. This has not always been borne out by experience. The compromises attained by discussions at Tripartite have not always been respected. And where the outcome is to be determined by the democratic device of the head-count, there have occurred occasions where the competent representatives in such discussions, after openly confessing ignorance, or more properly innocence, of the technical considerations involved, have voted entirely on the basis of sentiment or other equally irrelevant criteria. The greatest danger posed by the precedent therefore consisted not in the use of the principle of consultation, but in the wholesale and unquestioning acceptance and implementation of the recommendations of such a body as the Fiscal Review Committee.

Inequality of Taxation

There were very obvious results of the lack of any effective presence on the Committee of persons competent to represent the point of view of the labouring class and the general body of consumers. For example, there was, first of all, the commitment of the Committee in its Report, and presumably now of the Prime Minister and Government to maintain the dividend income allowance at the present rate as long as the Corporation Tax remains at 45% (page 13, para.27, (VI) of the Report).

Is this state of affairs to be retained no matter what happens to the general level of taxation in the economy? What is to happen if it is found necessary to increase the rate of Corporation Tax? Must the dividend income allowance be increased also?

Those who fought for the inclusion of this provision must have been fully conscious that this provision guaranteed the effective retention of the system of company taxation which obtained prior to the Finance Act 1966 so far as local companies were concerned, with the difference that whereas previously the company was exempt from tax on its distribution now the exemption from tax on dividends is granted directly to the shareholders. One is left to wonder whether anyone other than the representatives of the business community on the Committee was fully aware of all the implications of this particular provision in the Report.

The Higher and The Lower

Secondly, we must consider the nature of the changes in the rate structure of the personal income tax. So far as the marginal rates are concerned the first four levels were left untouched, that is all persons with a chargeable income $4000.00 or below continued to pay at the old rate. There were nevertheless reductions for all persons with chargeable incomes above $4,000. In addition the upper limit of the marginal rate on such incomes was reduced from 90% to 70% and the limitation on the overall average rate of tax was reduced from a flexible limit approaching 90% to a rigid limit of 50%.

It will of course be argued that the failure to reduce the marginal rates on chargeable incomes under $4,000 was adequately compensated by the tax rebates to which persons in these groups were entitled. But the maximum tax rebate is 10% for persons with chargeable incomes under $1,000 and this falls to 5% for persons with chargeable incomes between $1,000 and $4,000. On the other hand the reductions of the successive marginal rates applicable to chargeable incomes above $4,000 amount to rebates of tax of the order of 10.7% on a taxable income of $5,000.00, 16.2% on a taxable income of $6,000.00, 15.4% on $7,000,17.9% on $8,000.00,16.8% on $9,000.00 and 16.1% on $10,000.

The percentage tax reductions on higher levels of chargeable income are even greater Such reductions could hardly be questioned if it could be argued that the tax rates on recipients of such incomes were definitely excessive and needed to be reduced to be made consistent with those on the lower levels of income. But the evidence of the Report itself is that this was not so.

The true complexion of the changes in emphasis in taxation becomes more evident when the two preceding policies are taken together with the massive increases in indirect taxation. Given the known consumption patterns of the lower income groups, it was clear that any considerations of social justice which may have inspired the negligible reductions in personal taxation of these groups had given way before the economic considerations which inspired the "Pay-As You-Spend" policy.

The Task For 1969

As hinted in the beginning of this discussion the task of the 1969 Budget was partly to complete the programme of policy innovations recommended in the Report of the Fiscal Review Committee and initiated in the 1968 Budget. The major items involved here included the promised provisions for attracting and accumulating foreign savings in Trinidad and Tobago; for the further encouragement of local savings and for encouraging investment including the completion of the negotiations of our double taxation treaties. Also to be achieved were the modifications to the system of incentives, especially the reduction of the tax holiday period and the introduction of changes in the treatment of depreciation; the amendment of the regulations determining the basis of taxation of Life Insurance Companies; and the reduction and/or elimination of death duties on certain types of property. All of these had been promised in the previous Budget.

Chance For Reassessment

The 1969 Budget also presented an opportune moment for reassessment of the performance of the fiscal measures introduced in 1968. This was particularly urgent in the field of indirect taxation where the sudden change in emphasis had serious ramifications not only of an economic nature, but also of a purely administrative sort.

Thus the duty applicable to gold imported by approved gold manufacturers has been reduced to improve their competiive position. One is tempted to ask, if this is intended to make them more competitive in the local market, would it not be preferable merely to increase the duty on manufactured gold especially on the range of items locally manufactured? But of course, improving their competitive position at home will surely stimulate consumption of this luxury item and this must no doubt run counter to Government's expressed intention of increasing local savings and cutting the import bill since gold products inevitably have a very high import content.

The logical conclusion which urges itself upon us is that the change in tariff was intended to stimulate exports of gold manufacturers. But the price of gold is so stable over time, so uniform as between sources, and the quality so easily determinable that one is astonished that a system of drawback is not being used to stimulate exports instead.

Luxury Items

Moreover, a drawback will facilitate complete elimination of all duty paid on the imported input, and will not subsidize local consumers. This issue in fact opens up to question the entire policy of rebates and exemptions from import duty to stimulate manufacturers in a situation where more likely than not the entirety of any duty is passed on to helpless consumers. This problem I have examined in some depth elsewhere.

The experience of 1968 also suggested to the Prime Minister that the duty on certain luxury items such as chicken pies, fishcakes, strawberries, prepared and whole trout, and caviar should be increased to 25% from Preferential and 35% from General sources.

Outlook For The Future

Some of these I could not even bring myself to believe that we really imported, and for the life of me I will never understand why the duty on all these is any less than 100% on imports from all sources. I have a sneaking suspicion that both the Russians and Iranians think so much of their caviar that they would applaud the world if the commodity were left alone for their sole enjoyment.

Continuing further the surveillance of the 1968 measures, a few gaps appeared in the purchase tax net work particularly with respect to furniture,floor-polishers, vacuum cleaners and toasters. The furniture mending is guaranteed to catch even the smallest fry. But a truly thorough review of last year's handiwork could not fail to cause some pangs of conscience about the plight of the small man especially when his plight has a noticeably adverse effect on the disposal of excessive stocks by what the Fiscal Report calls "certain lines of the recently established consumer durable goods industries."

Nevertheless, the welcome rekindling of this concern for the poor man produced a new progressive rate structure for purchase taxes on stoves, ranges and refrigerators ranging from zero to 20% which represented at least one blow in the name of equity.

By far the most remarkable thing about the 1969 Budget, however, (though it nowhere made this explicit) was that it evinced a

• Continued on Back Page

MOKO

By the time we appear again on Fri... We then ought to review the past whic... theless, it has been crowded with activity ... attempts to cope with the several enqui... objectives of MOKO. In this issue we atte...

The original conception of MOKO ... the Rodney Affair. It seemed clear that ... drawn from what had occurred both he... Exclusion Order against Dr. Walter Ro... Conference in Montreal in October. From ... the Rodney Affair was the first issue of ... opportunity for people clearly and unequ... of principle.

It also emerged that there were ... which the issue invited was likely, in the ... considerations of career and advantage, an... were obviously being motivated, as peopl... as much as by principle or anything else.

But there were other factors. One of ... on what we were to call in the first issue ... it will be realized what a powerful and ... particularly in respect of the publication ... speech, during the very critical weeken... demonstrations on the three University ... attempt at commentary, without even ... itself large areas of inconsistency, provid... mischievous with precisely the sort of i... rationalize their wavering, their indifferenc...

Nevertheless it was clear that the e... for the future of the West Indian academ... for the future of intelligent West Indian ... redress the imbalance in information. I... know the truth. This is not to say that ... never made such a claim–but somehow the ... view of the affair than we seemed likely ... Thus the idea of MOKO was born. The ... which we would have to perform ourselves.

Once the notion of a publication ha... publication. Certainly not a broadsheet, ... natural speculation that we were, as an ac... to defend our own cause whatever that ca... mold. Also, we had to reach large numb... professional way. Also, we had to leave ... and take permanent root. What was the ... fulfil all these purposes? A newspaper see...

What kind of newspaper then? In ... the character of the newspaper had to b... nection with all those aspects of the Ro... It had to be a paper of dissent, of indepe... Indian community to respect dissent whi... course of Jamaican society in crisis. For ... that matter in the whole of the West Ind... the crudest of all expedients: the attachin... serious dissenting opinion. So that it see... dissent.

It seemed, too, that it had to forge ... University itself had so far been unable to ... originating in the University, was a genu... patible with the paper's other objectives ... popular participation in so far as support... concerned.

Beyond that it had another task wh... the focus for the organization of people ... context of the West Indian society for t... particular and wider environment in which ... In the context of the newspaper this mean... and then organization for doing something...

The object of the newspaper should ... In this connection, as a practical aspect ... the paper should specifically set out to ... discuss their problems with them, encou... thereafter to act to deal with them. A ... newspaper should have a specific organizat...

This was, perhaps, the main reason ... carry no advertising. It is also partly bec... an organ of the kind proposed have bee... paper or to give ads to a party political p... not really put to the test the feasibility o... no vision of offering anything but the ...

Above all the no-advertising theme ... with the Rodney situation to ask people ... which they believe. This seemed to be ... intimidation, self-consciousness, deceptio... ignorance, people just do not seem prep... seemed that in order to meet this probl... people as individuals; in the process, too ... problem. The fact is that a commercial ... through advertising, is a different thing ... kind of support it gets, the kind of rea... sets up with this readership and the ki... In fact the objective of organizing peo... organizing advertising, or so it seemed to ...

There are, too, the opportunity c... organization and will remain so for a ... pay for such services as are absolute ne... mean though that in order to do the ... In our view, advertising is the most expe... in this venture. Our immediate obje... necessary for the survival of this pape... With some luck and a lot of hard work th... a viable weekly with a circulation of so... Caribbean. Eventually too, it will carry ... aspects of growth, will come gradual... objectives of the paper.

get in eview

charge-
mount
der of
me of
axable
% on
16.8%
0,000.
ctions
le in-
ch re-
ioned
e tax
omes
eeded
con-
ower
ence
was

the
tion
the
ken
ases
the
the
ear
cial
red
nal
ren
ra-
As

of
69
ne
ns
ne
d
t-
gs
e
l
f

their competitive position at home will surely stimulate consumption of this luxury item and this must no doubt run counter to Government's expressed intention of increasing local savings and cutting the import bill since gold products inevitably have a very high import content.

The logical conclusion which urges itself upon us is that the change in tariff was intended to stimulate exports of gold manufacturers. But the price of gold is so stable - over time, so uniform as between sources, and the quality so easily determinable that one is astonished that a system of drawback is not being used to stimulate exports instead.

Luxury Items

Moreover, a drawback will facilitate complete elimination of all duty paid on the imported input, and will not subsidize local consumers. This issue in fact opens up to question the entire policy of rebates and exemptions from import duty to stimulate manufacturers in a situation where more likely than not the entirety of any duty is passed on to helpless consumers. This problem I have examined in some depth elsewhere.

The experience of 1968 also suggested to the Prime Minister that the duty on certain luxury items such as chicken pies, fishcakes, strawberries, prepared and whole trout, and caviar should be increased to 25% from Preferential and 35% from General sources.

Outlook For The Future

Some of these I could not even bring myself to believe that we really imported, and for the life of me I will never understand why the duty on all these is any less than 100% on imports from all sources. I have a sneaking suspicion that both the Russians and Iranians think so much of their caviar that they would applaud the world if the commodity were left alone for their sole enjoyment.

Continuing further the surveillance of the 1968 measures, a few gaps appeared in the purchase tax net work particularly with respect to furniture, floor-polishers, vacuum cleaners and toasters. The furniture mending is guaranteed to catch even the smallest fry. But a truly thorough review of last year's handiwork could not fail to cause some pangs of conscience about the plight of the small man especially when his plight has a noticeably adverse effect on the disposal of excessive stocks by what the Fiscal Report calls "certain lines of the recently established consumer durable goods industries."

Nevertheless, the welcome rekindling of this concern for the poor man produced a new progressive rate structure for purchase taxes on stoves, ranges and refrigerators ranging from zero to 20% which represented at least one blow in the name of equity.

By far the most remarkable thing about the 1969 Budget, however, (though it nowhere made this explicit) was that it evinced a

• Continued on Back Page

MOKO JUMBIE

By the time we appear again on Friday January 10, a New Year will have begun. We then ought to review the past which for us an extremely short one. Nevertheless, it has been crowded with activity, the phase of this activity has been our brave attempts to cope with the several enquiries about the conception, the aims and the objectives of MOKO. In this issue we attempt to clarify our position.

The original conception of MOKO was simple one and grew very directly out of the Rodney Affair. It seemed clear that in essence there were several conclusions to be drawn from what had occurred both here and in Jamaica following the issue of an Exclusion Order against Dr. Walter Rodney on his return from the Black Writers Conference in Montreal in October. From all the circumstances, it began to emerge that the Rodney Affair was the first issue of importance for a long time which had given the opportunity for people clearly and unequivocally to state where they stood on issues of principle.

It also emerged that there were several reasons why the moral confrontation which the issue invited was likely, in the long run, to be evaded by most of us. Personal considerations of career and advantage, and downright deception, loomed large. People were obviously being motivated, as people always will be, by questions of self-interest as much as by principle or anything else.

But there were other factors. One of these was the absolute dearth of information on what we were to call in the first issue of MOKO 'The Other Side'. One of these days it will be realized what a powerful and decisive role was played by the Press, and particularly in respect of the publication of Mr. Shearer's House of Representatives speech, during the very critical weekend following the exclusion and the student demonstrations on the three University campuses. That speech, published with no attempt at commentary, without even a suggestion that there were in the speech itself large areas of inconsistency, provided the waverers, the self-interested and the mischievous with precisely the sort of information they had anticipated in order to rationalize their wavering, their indifference their mischief.

Nevertheless it was clear that the episode carried with it the gravest implications for the future of the West Indian academic community and at the same time of course for the future of intelligent West Indian opinion of all sorts. The first task then was to redress the imbalance in information. If people were to take positions they had to know the truth. This is not to say that the was all on one side – certainly we have never made such a claim–but somehow the opportunity had to be provided for a broader view of the affair than we seemed likely to get from the conventional news media. Thus the idea of MOKO was born. The task of enlightenment was very largely a task which we would have to perform ourselves.

Once the notion of a publication had crystallized the question was what kind of publication. Certainly not a broadsheet, journal or anything that would reinforce the natural speculation that we were, as an academic community, merely using our talents to defend our own cause whatever that cause was. We had to get out of the academic mold. Also, we had to reach large numbers of people, and we had to do so in a mature professional way. Also, we had to leave open the possibility that the idea would grow and take permanent root. What was the vehicle of communication most likely to fulfil all these purposes? A newspaper seemed to be the best of the many alternatives.

What kind of newspaper then? In the circumstances of the time it seemed that the character of the newspaper had to be quite specific. It had to make a real connection with all those aspects of the Rodney business which seemed most important. It had to be a paper of dissent, of independent thought. It was the failure of the West Indian community to respect dissent which had made violence seem to be the only recourse of Jamaican society in crisis. For as the social situation in Jamaica, and for that matter in the whole of the West Indies had been left to fester by the simple use of the crudest of all expedients: the attaching the label Communist or subversive to any serious dissenting opinion. So that it seemed that the paper had to commit itself to dissent.

It seemed, too, that it had to forge its contacts with the community which the University itself had so far been unable to forge. It had to be a paper which, though originating in the University, was a genuine popular organ in so far as that was compatible with the paper's other objectives. It had to command the widest possible popular participation in so far as support, publication, organization and financing were concerned.

Beyond that it had another task which was quite political in that it had to provide the focus for the organization of people. People generally, so far unorganized in the context of the West Indian society for taking care of themselves, for coping with the particular and wider environment in which they live, had to be organized to do just that. In the context of the newspaper this meant organization first for discussion of problems, and then organization for doing something about these problems.

The object of the newspaper should be to indentify problems and consider them. In this connection, as a practical aspect of newspaper policy, it seemed necessary that the paper should specifically set out to get people in various parts of the society, discuss their problems with them, encourage them to write and talk about them, and thereafter to act to deal with them. A practical policy suggested, too, that the newspaper should have a specific organizational character.

This was, perhaps, the main reason for the proposal that the newspaper should carry no advertising. It is also partly because the difficulties of raising advertising for an organ of the kind proposed have been underrated. To give ads to a trade union paper or to give ads to a party political paper have nothing to do with support and does not really put to the test the feasibility of getting ads for a paper of dissent which has no vision of offering anything but the committed view.

Above all the no-advertising theme rested on the notion that it was in character with the Rodney situation to ask people to make personal commitments to things in which they believe. This seemed to be the central issue of the day. Whether it is intimidation, self-consciousness, deception, awareness, deep and subtle calculation or ignorance, people just do not seem prepared to commit themselves to anything. It seemed that in order to meet this problem MOKO ought to make a direct appeal to people as individuals; in the process, too, it seemed likely to solve the organizational problem. The fact is that a commercial paper, the financing of which seems secure through advertising, is a different thing from the newspaper proposed in respect of the kind of support it gets, the kind of readership it attracts, the kind of relationship it sets up with this readership and the kind of organizational possibilities it permits. In fact the objective of organizing people is not compatible with the objective of organizing advertising, or so it seemed to us to consider. We are basically a voluntary

There are, too, the opportunity cost of time. This is not to say that we shall not organization and will remain so for a long pay for such services as are absolutely necessary, for we are already doing this. It does mean though that in order to do the essential things well we cannot do other things. In our view, advertising is the most expendable aspect of all the major activities involved in this venture. Our immediate objective is to organise all those essential services necessary for the survival of this paper. We hope to achieve reasonable growth. With some luck and a lot of hard work there is no reason why MOKO should not become a viable weekly with a circulation of some 5,000 selling well in all the territories of the Caribbean. Eventually too, it will carry more than four pages; but this like all other aspects of growth, will come gradually and must be compatible with the general objectives of the paper.

Spanish Primary Schools?

LLOYD

ON ATTENDING A LITERARY DISCUSSION

By

R. JAGESSAR.

They were talking of the middle passage
Of the black shackled past
Which lay yet heavy on their backs
and of the degradation of their race
and I listened and I talked, but I
could not feel it, did not feel the
pang till by chance I touched my
lank straight hair,
looked around, saw none else
and understood the reason why.

I was the only one whose fathers
were not chained in the long
journey out
whose fathers came and kept
if not the kernel, then the shell
of an ancient culture;
who had felt the lash but not the
hopelessness, the forced descent
into oblivion
nor that basement worse than death,
and knew not so strongly the want
to be equal, to be free.

I could not hate Whiteness
as I could oppression and
Brown Bourgeois complacency.
I was free, yet lost;
not held by any root except
the intricate decayed Indian house,
decayed but old and proud.
So when they set down in printed
robes
to flagellate their blackness,
preach their negritude
and cry for equality
I wanted, yes I wanted,
but I could not know their hope.

My father's distant land was not
my home,
nor the little, brittle temples they
brought
Never, ever could be mine.
But here I feel no pain, so spur
leading to creation.
In this land where I was born,
I am split, sundered like my brothers
half-kneeling before a rotting easter
shrine,
the rest reaching a hand to black-
eyed Africa,
another to the white hem of the
north,
waiting for a wave to wash away
the past
into a new togetherness, while they
huddle
separately in their deathly cells.

A land where there is no colour
is no goal for me;
I neither hate my darkness
nor yearn to be white,
but live that same silence
and plan the day when
black, brown and white
will be transformed by the
Red tides or revolution,
the real and only equality.
Thought throbs red beneath all
to sweep away all colours
and make them but hues
to form the new mosaic.

With acknowledg

With some regu
suggestions in the da
ing for the extension
of Spanish to primar
reason is of course
between Trinidad
and Latin Ameri
generally are expe
However, no one se
ing to assess the
issues involved in
taking and it may
some of the issues he

First Pr

The first prob
teaching of a fore
Trinidad and Toba
problem of the tea
One does not have
the values of dialec
the semi-literacy
primary school le
less than desirable.
language, says Der
must change your
environment speak
guage. And let u

B W

There has bee
at BWIA of late
ference, new unifo
hostesses, training
and their families,
Australia and rumou
conference "on th
airline" soon to be
Very good. Glad
BWIA has a future
the rules for appo
there any? How
recruited at BWIA
those cushy, high-sa

MOKO would st
We believe that p
have a right to wo
all have a right to
such work as is
particularly in a C
profligate with publ

A

We are happy t
fresh air has stirre
disenchanting sea o
life. The Chamber
the Press, Fr. Valdez
a group of parents
members of the p
invited by the gov
part in a public deb
Education Plan
thrust upon the natio
and bearing the sta
C.O.

It is not often si
that "Massa day d
public has exercised
criticism. Even stra
the volume of dis
pressed with the
of the arguments
very much against i
however, two funda
which still

MBIE

10, a New Year will have begun.
n extremely short one. Never-
of this activity has been our brave
ne conception, the aims and the
our position.

one and grew very directly out of
ere were several conclusions to be
maica following the issue of an
return from the Black Writers
stances , it began to emerge that
a long time which had given the
tate where they stood on issues

why the moral confrontation
evaded by most of us. Personal
leception, loomed large. People
be, by questions of self-interest

absolute dearth of information
Other Side'. One of these days
was played by the Press, and
er's House of Representatives
ne exclusion and, the student
at speech, published with no
at there were in the speech
rs, the self-interested and the
had anticipated in order to
ief.
ith it the gravest implications
nd at the same time of course
rts. The first task then was to
take positions they had to
one side – certainly we have
to be provided for a broader
the conventional news media.
ment was very largely a task

e question was what kind of
ing that would reinforce the
ity, merely using our talents
to get out of the academic
we had to do so in a mature
ty that the idea would grow
mmunication most likely to
est of the many alternatives.
of the time it seemed that
It had to make a real con-
ch seemed most important.
t was the failure of the West
nce seem to be the only re-
tuation in Jamaica, and for
fester by the simple use of
munist or subversive to any
er had to commit itself to

the community which the
be a paper which, though
in so far as that was com-
mand the widest possible
nization and financing were

al in that it had to provide
so far unorganized in the
selves, for coping with the
organized to do just that.
or discussion of problems,
ms.

oblems and consider them.
, it seemed necessary that
ious parts of the society,
and talk about them, and
suggested, too, that the

hat the newspaper should
of raising advertising for
give ads to a trade union
do with support and does
paper of dissent which has

on that it was in character
commitments to things in
the day. Whether it is
and subtle calculation or
emselves to anything, It
make a direct appeal to
o solve the organizational
ng of which seems secure
proposed in respect of the
he kind of relationship it
l possibilities it permits.
le with the objective of

are basically a voluntary
to say that we shall not
ready doing this. It does
e cannot do other things.
e major activities involved
ll those essential services
chieve reasonable growth.
MOKO should not become
in all the territories of the
es; but this like all other
patible with the general

Spanish in Primary Schools?

LLOYD KING

With some regularity, we see suggestions in the daily papers calling for the extension of the teaching of Spanish to primary schools. The reason is of course that relations between Trinidad and Venezuela and Latin American countries generally are expected to grow. However, no one seems to be pausing to assess the problems and issues involved in such an undertaking and it may be well to raise some of the issues here.

First Problem

The first problem about the teaching of a foreign language in Trinidad and Tobago is really the problem of the teaching of English. One does not have to be hostile to the values of dialect to realise that the semi-literacy with which the primary school leaver emerges is less than desirable. To change your language, says Derek Walcott, you must change your life. A debased environment speaks a debased language. And let us by no means assume that only material poverty debases. The typical and recurrent items on our news media, whether newspaper, radio or T.V. evidence continuously a startling poverty of judgement. I pick up the Sunday papers and what am I committed to read but all the inane and asinine reasons why Frank Sinatra and Dean Martin may stop speaking to each other. Is it for the consumption of such gossip that primary school teachers belabour their charges on behalf of literacy and scholarships?

First Language

The teaching of standard English is designed to enable people to relate coherently to their environment and the wider world and to express their awareness of such relationships. The first imperative therefore must be to establish the corrections between literacy and the development of intelligence and the trivia meted out by our media of communication out of their "horn of plenty" from the U.S.A. in a direct contradiction of the presumed aims which formal education in a language is assumed to promote. We have to establish where we stand in regard to our first language before we worry about a second one.

Oral Methods

Secondly, before we press for the teaching of a second language in primary schools, let us take account of the situation of language teaching in secondary schools.There are two problems besetting the teaching of foreign languages at the secondary school level. One is the consciousness of the nature of the G.C.E. examinations. The G.C.E' language test does not cater to a pace of learning which would encourage teachers to use oral methods and emphasize the speaking of the language. Anyone who attends meetings of the Modern Language Association of Trinidad and Tobago finds teachers protesting that teaching children to speak the foreign language seems largely incompatible with preparing them for examinations. The skill required by the G.C.E. test is the translation skill and although efforts are being made to modernize the pattern of testing, the translation-type skill still has a primary importance. Moreover this is a pattern which extends from secondary school into University, since throughout we operate the English system.

The implication from the above really is that our examination systems are incompatible with the desire to utilise the language in practical affairs. The question is whether the public would be willing to give up the prestige values of the G.C.E. system in order to move towards making language teaching relevant.

The second issue is also important. It is not enough to keep repeating that contacts with Latin America are growing in order to motivate students. The structure of business life up to the moment and the typical employment practices in the Civil Service do not in any sense convey the impression that a knowledge of Spanish opens opportunities to more than a few people. Most University graduates majoring in language studies have no reason to believe that their employment opportunities will lie in any direction other than that of teaching. The motivation for language study is in fact based on the general argument that it provides G.C.E. and Degree grades which have a great relevance to salary patterns and socio-economic mobility. The result is an apathy about which teachers often complain. In fact nowhere is this sense of uselessness more manifest than in large numbers of teachers who rue the day they were trapped into specialising in language study.

Wasting Time

All these things are matters which must be brought into the open and discussed honestly. To continue to offer large numbers of children a type of training which soon leaves the average in a no-man's land is an intolerable absurdity. We are moving into a phase of international relations in which we ought to set up specialist courses for various groups, businessmen, civil servants such as Customs officers, Coast Guardsmen, Home and Foreign affairs people and so on.

In the meantime the question of the teaching of foreign languages in secondary schools ought to be seriously reviewed. We are wasting our time teaching large numbers of children language in a catch-as-catch-can- manner, and in a context of a lack of meaningful motivation.

On another occasion I shall seek to discuss the argument for foreign language study which involves its "liberal" values, and which is the favourite whipping post of those who are satisfied with the present situation.

But for the time being let's forget about Spanish in primary schools and first of all put our present house in order.

ON ATTENDING A LITERARY DISCUSSION

By

R . JAGESSAR.

They were talking of the middle passage
Of the black shackled past
Which lay yet heavy on their backs
and of the degradation of their race
I listened and I talked, but I
could not feel it, did not feel the
pang till by chance I touched my
lank straight hair,
looked around, saw none else
and understood the reason why.

I was the only one whose fathers
were not chained in the long
journey out
whose fathers came and kept
if not the kernel, then the shell
of an ancient culture;
who had felt the lash but not the
hopelessness, the forced descent
into oblivion
nor that basement worse than death,
and knew not so strongly the want
to be equal, to be free.

I could not hate Whiteness
as I could oppression and
Brown Bourgeois complacency.
I was free, yet lost;
not held by any root except
the intricate decayed Indian house,
decayed but old and proud.
So when they set down in printed
robes
to flagellate their blackness,
preach their negritude
and cry for equality
I wanted, yes I wanted,
but I could not know their hope.

My father's distant land was not
my home,
nor the little, brittle temples they
brought
Never, ever could be mine.
But here I feel no pain, so spur
leading to creation.
In this land where I was born,
I am split,sundered like my brothers
half-kneeling before a rotting easter
shrine,
the rest reaching a hand to black-
eyed Africa,
another to the white hem of the
north,
waiting for a wave to wash away
the past
into a new togetherness, while they
huddle
separately in their deathly cells.

A land where there is no colour
is no goal for me;
I neither hate my darkness
nor yearn to be white,
but live that same silence
and plan the day when
black, brown and white
will be transformed by the
Red tides or revolution,
the real and only equality.
Thought throbs red beneath all
to sweep away all colours
and make them but hues
to form the new mosaic.

With acknowledgement to
MAGNET

BWIA

There has been much activity at BWIA of late; a press conference, new uniforms for the air hostesses, training jaunts for pilots and their families, a new jet from Australia and rumours of yet another conference "on the future of the airline" soon to be held in Antigua. Very good. Glad to know that BWIA has a future. But what of the rules for appointments? Are there any? How do people get recruited at BWIA, particularly to those cushy, high-salaried jobs?

MOKO would still like to know. We believe that people not only have a right to work but that we all have a right to a fair shot at such work as is actually going, particularly in a Company that is profligate with public funds.

A NOTE ON EDUCATION

We are happy that a breath of fresh air has stirred the stagnant disenchanting sea of our local civic life. The Chamber of Commerce, the Press, Fr. Valdez, Dr. Camacho, a group of parents and many other members of the public have, uninvited by the government, taken part in a public debate on a Draft Education Plan which has been thrust upon the nation gift-wrapped and bearing the stamp of U.N.E.S.C.O.

It is not often since we learned that "Massa day done", that the public has exercised its right of criticism. Even stranger has been the volume of disagreement expressed with the plan. Most of the arguments have been very much against it. There are, however, two fundamental points which still need to be stressed.

Firstly, there is the secrecy in which it was drafted and foisted on the people. It will be interesting to see what comes of the present debate on the shift system, junior secondary schools, the building of schools, and televised education. Whatever is decided, the debate should have been held before and not after the plan had been drawn up. The public should have been invited to express opinions on a matter that so intimately touches public life.

Secondly we wonder, not for the first time, whose opinion is really important in this country. It is noticeable that one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the Draft Plan was Mr. Shigemitsu Kuriyama of the World Bank.

Since it seems that the money for the implementation of any plan has to be borrowed, one wonders whether one of the prime considerations of the government was not the satisfaction of the money-lenders. And can it be that, finally, such considerations will triumph at the expense of public opinion?

MOKO THANKS ALL SUBSCRIBERS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED

CORRESPONDENCE SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO P.O. BOX 1327 P.O.S. AND CROSSED CHEQUES TO: MOKO NEWSPAPER C/O BARCLAY'S BANK TUNAPUNA.

At existing costs $2.00 per month from 400 persons, or $1.00 a month from 800 persons or 50 cents a month from 1600 persons, or 25 cents a month from 3200 persons will ensure the existence of this paper. Will you pledge a regular contribution?

MOKO

A SERIOUS REVIEW

No. 5

Price 10 cts. up

My Relations with Texaco Trinidad Inc.

By DAVID O. JACK

I joined the Oil Company at Pointe-a-Pierre (then Trinidad Leaseholds Limited) on August 13, 1949 as an Estate Constable. In 1958, after nine years' service I began studying for the University of London General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) examination. By 1962 I was in possession of five (5) subjects at the Ordinary Level and two (2) at the Advanced Level. I then applied to Texaco for a scholarship to read for the B.Sc. Degree in Economics at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. I was not successful.

In 1963 I entered the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine as an evening student to read for the B.A. (Gen.) Honours Degree in Economics and History. In 1965 I passed the Part One of the B.A. Degree course and I applied to Texaco for a scholarship to do the final. I waited for about three weeks after the reopening of the Academic year of the University of the West Indies, but I received no reply in this connection from the company.

I then sent a letter to the General Manager, Mr. H.W. Mc Naughton-Jones, asking him to use his good office in assisting me to obtain a Company's scholarship. I also sought outside help in this direction. Finally, one month after the commencement of the term, Texaco awarded me a scholarship.

In June, 1967 I wrote my final examination but I was referred. In June, 1968 I passed the final the B.A. (General) Honours Degree examination in Economics and History. The results were posted on the University notice board sometime in August, and I duly informed the Training Department of Texaco of my success.

On August 30, 1968 I wrote the Personnel Officer (Staff), Mr. R. Lea, of my success, and on September 2, 1968 I reported to him for resumption of work. I was informed that he could not have taken a decision on the matter but that he would inform Mr. Pickard, Manager, Employee Relations, who was the one to do so.

Subsequently, I received a letter from Mr. Lea, dated September 11, 1968. In it he said that the situation hadn't changed since the scholarship was granted in 1965, when they told me that there would have been little likelihood of a suitable job after being qualified. He was therefore writing to inform me, inter alia, that there was no suitable vacancy for which I could be considered.

I replied informing the Company that I did not understand the conclusion at which they had arrived and therefore asked to be further enlightened. This letter was acknowledged on September 23, 1968 and I was promised an early reply. On October 9, 1968 not having heard anything, I dispatched a reminder but Texaco refused to reply.

Thereupon, I instructed my legal adviser to write the General Manager, Mr. H.W. Mc Naughton-Jones, which he did on October 15, 1968. My legal adviser received a letter of acknowledgement signed by Mr. Lea for the Manager Employee Relations, Mr. Pickard, promising an early reply.

On December 5, 1968 I received a letter from Mr. Lea, dated December 4, 1968, requesting me to report at the Company's main office, Pointe-a-Pierre, to have discussions with himself and the Personnel Officer (Employees), Mr. Fortune, at 2.00 p.m. on the very day on which the letter was received I reported as requested, but Mr. Fortune was absent.

Mr. Lea told me that they had checked several departments in the Company but were unable to fit me on the Senior Staff. He said that all they could offer me was my old job as a policeman. Mr. Lea asked if I would accept the job and I answered in the affirmative. He also asked whether I was happy about the offer, and I told him that I was not.

Mr. Lea then said that he was unable to say from what date I should resume duties and promised to inform me subsequently about decisions relating to one or two other points I had raised.

This whole affair seems to reflect utter disregard of Texaco's avowed policy of offering suitable positions to suitably qualified nationals. From the time Texaco began offering scholarships, all the graduates they have recruited have been taken on to the Senior Staff. Those scholars who were employees were given jobs as Senior Staffs at the administrative level after being graduated. No person of graduate status, whether employee or non-employee, has ever been given a job at a level less than Senior Staff.

No graduate of a recognised university (not to mention U.W.I.) has ever, in the history of Texaco, been engaged at employee status. It is therefore strange that in my case Texaco has found it convenient to offer me a job (my old job) at the old level of employment.

Although Texaco told me since 1965 that there would have been little likelihood of a suitable vacancy after being qualified, they have since employed several persons of similar qualification as recently as July or August, 1968 (this year). In fact persons with little real qualifications for the tasks required of them have at times been appointed.

A striking example is the case of an expatriate brought down from England with a degree in Italian and French who was a Labour Officer on the Company's payroll. Needless to say he was a total failure and had to be removed. Also the majority of Expatriates in the Company's Personnel and allied fields have little or no qualification, yet proper jobs have found for them..

David O. Jack.

N.B. Three of the persons in the Personnel department are men of little or no qualification whatever. One of them is a Trinidadian; the other two of are expatriates.

The Budget a year ago

The following letter was sent to one of the local papers a year ago when a raise in salary for legislators was only a threat not a fact.

Dear Sir,

Senator Conrad O'Brien made, what I consider to be, one of the most interesting remarks to come out of the Budget Debate in the Senate. The Senator expressed amazement at the paltry salaries paid the Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers or as he likes to call them "The Board of Directors" and indicated that he would support any proposal for salary increases. The Prime Minister's salary is approximately $1,000.00, Ministers approximately $960.00.

Apparently Senator O'Brien is not aware that the " Board of Directors" has shown in no uncertain manner their ability to make "paltry" salaries stretch. For example one of them not only owns numerous racehorses and gamecocks but also two of the most expensive American motorcars in Trinidad and Tobago (BUY LOCAL??). The "Board" seems to be extremely well housed some of them in the most exlcusive areas in Trinidad while some I understand have been able to venture successfully into the apartment and farming businesses. All this, mind you, and more, on a "paltry" salary.

So what is necessary is not an increase in salary but rather maybe a Seminar (this seems to be the THING in Trinidad and Tobago to-day) organised by Senator O' Brien and the Junior Chamber (they seem to enjoy Seminars) and at this Seminar "The Board" would be invited to let us the, people of Trinidad and Tobago, know how to live well on a "paltry" salary.

Ivan A. Laughlin Jnr.,

16th February, 1968.

Editors Note:

However much we like Mr. Laughlin's imaginative suggestion for a seminar it now seems that there is little purpose in issuing the invitation. Salaries are not so "paltry" anymore. By the way, did that letter ever appear in the local press?

The '69 Budget in Review

• From Page Two

consciousness of failure, a lack of faith in the adequacy of the present strategy of development. But even more surprising was the fact that it presented a bold new outlook for the future of policy which, to anyone who read the obviously empty threat contained in the current Five Year Plan, appears to be very radical indeed.

In the current Plan it was hinted that unless the private sector responded to the incentives and pleadings of Government to invest in economic expansion Government may be forced to take the responsibility and intervene in areas traditionally reserved for private enterprise.

Five years after this was written and with a new plan forthcoming the Budget has confessed that the rate of unemployment remains embarrassingly high at 14% of the labour force despite a large emigration and a reasonable rate of growth in real output in 1968.

Further, progress toward a solution of the structural unemployment problem is said to be "hampered by retrenchment in several sectors of the economy. The labour force decreased from 368,200 in June 1967 to 363,800 in June 1968, while the number of people unemployed increased by 1,500 from 51,200 to 52,700.

A New Frame Work

In the light of such an unhappy economic perfromance a new framework and a more daring strategy are obviously called for. Thus it is presumptuous for us to suppose that we should not allow ourselves "to be side tracked into empty discussions on dogma regarding the respective roles and the lines of demarcation of the public and private sectors" when it is just such absence of discussion and blind faith in the efficacy of the said dogma which have led to successive postponements of more fundamental and pragmatic policies. The implied assumption of the above statement is presumably that the discussions about dogma are either unnecessary, or that they have already been held and a concensus arrived at. This is all but said in the assertion that "the mixed form of ownership and management involving the public and private sectors appears to be particularly well suited to our needs and circumstances".

It would be interesting to discover when exactly the propriety of such a strategy became apparent, and what has so far stood in the way of its influence on policy. It may be that judicious regard must be paid to the national shortage of certain skills in determining the appropriate form of Government intervention. But we can hardly ignore the considerable potential for the development of these skills which would naturally result from such intervention.

Ignoring or Refusing

In claiming that it is legitimate for Government to use funds raised through fiscal devices to intervene in the private sector by way of involving itself in specific projects the Prime Minister is either ignoring or refusing to recognize the existence of those who, either by origin or by orientation, refuse to espouse such a policy.

Now that the radical intentions of the Government have been stated with such forceful clairty, to the wanton pleasure of the Opposition, I would be very disappointed if the Budget Debate does not continue with considerably greater acrimony among the leading representatives of the business community than it did among the national representatives in the Parliamentary community.

The new targets and objectives outlined by the 1969 Budget no doubt form part of the new strategy for the Third Five Year Plan, since they constitute the framework in 1969, the first year of that Plan. The problems of the economy are manifold even when enumerated by the Prime Minister. Yet the consciousness of their existence and magnitude gives reason for hope that the new strategy intends more than merely to pay lip service to radicals.

There are elements of strength in the proposed strategy but also numerous, far too numerous, weak links in this chain which must pull the economy forward. In a subsequent issue I shall examine a few of these in the context of the objectives and targets specified in the Budget.

Printed by the Vanguard Publishing Company Ltd., 4a Lower Hillside Street, San Fernando, for the publishers James Millette and Gordon Rohlehr. Enquiries to P.O. Box 1327, Port of Spain.